

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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AMEMBASSY LISBON

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USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3508

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PGOV, UR

SUBJ: THE 25TH CONGRESS: ELECTIONS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND

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AUDITING COMMISSION

REF: MOSCOW 3499

1. SUMMARY. ELECTIONS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION ARE STRIKING FOR THEIR CONFIRMATION OF THE CONTINUITY AND STABILITY OF THE TOP LEADERSHIP GROUPS. THERE ARE FEW, IF ANY, SURPRISES. THE RATE OF RETENTION IS EVEN HIGHER AT THIS CONGRESS THAN IT WAS IN 1971, CONTRADICTING RUMORS THAT A "REJUVENATION" OF THE CC WAS IMPENDING. LARGE NUMBERS OF PARTY APPARATUS OFFICIALS WERE PROMOTED FROM CANDIDATE MEMBERSHIP INTO THE CC, THEREBY SEEMINGLY STRENGTHENING BREZHNEV'S HAND. DESPITE CRITICISM AT THE CONGRESS, SEVERAL MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONSUMER-ORIENTED INDUSTRIES STILL MANAGED TO ADVANCE IN THE HIERARCHY. WE FIND NO INDICATION IN THESE ELECTIONS THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS DEVELOPING A SUCCESSION STRATEGY; INDEED, THE DATA SUGGEST MINIMAL CONCERN FOR THIS. THE "VOLUNTARISM" AND OCCASIONAL CAPRICIOUSNESS OF KHRUSHCHEV HAS CLEARLY GIVEN WAY TO SECURITY AND CONSENSUS UNDER BREZHNEV. END SUMMARY.

2. ELECTIONS TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE FULL MEMBERSHIP AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS INDICATED A HIGH LEVEL OF CADRE STABILITY WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP. THE COMMITTEE WAS ENLARGED TO 287 MEMBERS--AN INCREASE OF 46 OVER THE 1971 LEVEL. YET OF THIS NUMBER 201 (OR 70 PERCENT) HAD BEEN ELECTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN 1971. THIS IS AN INCREASE IN CADRE STABILITY OVER THE LEVEL OF 1971, SINCE AT THAT CONGRESS ONLY 64 PERCENT OF THOSE ELECTED IN 1966 WERE RETAINED ON THE NEW COMMITTEE.

3. IF WE LOOK AT THE RETENTION FIGURES IN TERMS OF HOLDOVERS FROM 1971, THE IMAGE OF CADRE STABILITY IN 1976 IS EVEN MORE STRIKING: OF THE 241 CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1971, 201 (83.4 PERCENT) WERE RETAINED AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE IN 1976; ONLY 24 MEMBERS OF THE 1971 COMMITTEE (10 PERCENT) WERE ACTUALLY REMOVED AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AT THE 25TH CONGRESS; THE REMAINING 16 (6.6 PERCENT) MEMBERS OF THE 1971 COMMITTEE DIED IN OFFICE. IN COMPARATIVE TERMS, 78.5 PERCENT OF THOSE ELECTED IN 1966 WERE RETAINED ON THE 1971 CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AS CONTRASTED WITH 83.4 PERCENT RETENTION BETWEEN 1971 AND 1976. THUS, THE ALREADY HIGH LEVELS OF CADRE RETENTION IN 1971 WERE EXCEEDED IN 1976.

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4. AS NOTED, ONLY 24 LIVING MEMBERS OF THE 1971 COMMITTEE WERE NOT REELECTED. HOWEVER, IN EVERY CASE THESE INDIVIDUALS HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY DEMOTED FROM THE PARTY OR GOVERNMENT POSITION THEY HELD WHEN ELECTED IN 1971. THE ELECTIONS IN 1976 DID NOT PROVIDE EVEN A SINGLE EXAMPLE WHERE AN INDIVIDUAL, STILL OCCUPYING THE SAME OFFICE HE HELD IN 1971, WAS DROPPED FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATUS. EVEN POLYANSKIY STILL HELD ON TO HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE

SEAT, ALTHOUGH THE APPOINTMENT OF L. N. SMIRNOV TO THE COMMITTEE (PERHAPS A DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE) COULD INDICATE A CHANGE IN THIS POSITION, WITH POLYANSKIY MOVING TO ANOTHER POST. (IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS PERHAPS WORTH NOTING THAT SHELEPIN HAS NOW SUNK INTO ASSURED POLITICAL OBLIVION BY LOSING HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE RANKING.)

5. THERE ARE 86 NEW MEMBERS ON THE 1976 CENTRAL COMMITTEE. OF THESE, 46 (53.5 PERCENT) WERE PROMOTED FROM CANDIDATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATUS, FOUR (4.7 PERCENT) WERE PROMOTED FROM THE CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION, AND 36 (41.9 PERCENT) DID NOT HAVE NATIONAL PARTY RANK IN 1971.

6. THESE ADDITIONS, HOWEVER, ONLY REINFORCE THE IMAGE OF STABILITY PREVIOUSLY NOTED. OF THE 46 FORMER CANDIDATE MEMBERS PROMOTED AT THIS CONGRESS, ONLY NINE (20 PERCENT) HOLD A DIFFERENT POSITION THAN THEY HAD IN 1971. OF THE 36 NEW MEMBERS, 25 HAD EARLIER TAKEN OVER THE PARTY OR GOVERNMENT POSITIONS HELD BY FULL OR CANDIDATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1971. THEIR ELECTION, THEREFORE, TO THE COMMITTEE AS EITHER MEMBERS OR CANDIDATES WAS VIRTUALLY ASSURED.

7. THE 86 NEW MEMBERS ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE GIVE THE BODY AN EVEN GREATER PARTY APPARATUS FLAVOR. OF THE 50 CANDIDATES AND AUDITING COMMISSION MEMBERS PROMOTED, 27 (54 PERCENT) HELD PARTY APPARATUS POSITION--24 AT THE OBLAST LEVEL OR BELOW. IT IS APPARENT THAT HOLDING AN OBLAST FIRST SECRETARY POSITION WITHIN THE RSFSR WAS AN ALMOST AUTOMATIC INVITATION TO MEMBERSHIP ON THE COMMITTEE AT THIS CONGRESS. EVEN THE FIRST SECRETARY OF HEAVILY CRITICIZED TAMBOV OBKOM--V. I. CHERNY--WAS PROMOTED. IN TOTAL, 47 (54.6 PERCENT) OF THE 86 MEMBERS ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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AT THIS CONGRESS WERE PARTY APPARATUS OFFICIALS. ONLY 22 (25.6 PERCENT) OF THESE NEW MEMBERS WERE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS; FIVE WERE MILITARY; THREE CAME FROM OTHER INSTITUTIONS; AND NINE COULD NOT BE IDENTIFIED FROM OUR MEAGER FILES.

8. SEVERAL OF THE PROMOTIONS TO FULL MEMBERSHIP MERIT ATTENTION. MINISTRIES CONNECTED WITH THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY RECEIVED A BIG BOOST: V. S. FEDOROV (MINISTER OF PETROLEUM REFINING AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY), B. YE. SHCHERBINA (MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION OF PETROLEUM AND GAS INDUSTRY ENTERPRISES) AND V. P. SHASHIN (MINISTER OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY) WERE ALL ELEVATED FROM CANDIDATE STATUS TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. IN ADDITION TO RECOGNITION FOR GOOD PERFORMANCE, THESE PROMOTIONS UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECT THE RISING IMPORTANCE OF OIL AS AN ENERGY AND FOREIGN CURRENCY EARNING RESOURCE IN THE SOVIET UNION. SEVERAL "GROUP B" MINISTERS

WERE ALSO PROMOTED: V. N. DOYENIN (MACHINE BUILDING FOR LIGHT AND FOOD INDUSTRY AND HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES), V.P. LEIN (FOOD INDUSTRY), AND N.N. TARASOV (LIGHT INDUSTRY) MOVED FROM CANDIDATE STATUS TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. GIVEN THE CRITICISM DIRECTED AT THIS AREA BY BREZHNEV AND OTHERS DURING THE CONGRESS, THE PROMOTIONS OF THESE MINISTERS MIGHT WELL CAUSE SKEPTICISM REGARDING THE INTENDED SERIOUSNESS OF THE "DEBATES" AT THE CONGRESS WHICH ATTACKED SHORTCOMINGS IN MINISTRIES PRODUCING CONSUMER GOODS. FINALLY, THE AILING M. V. KELDYSH, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, CLUNG TO HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE SLOT DESPITE THE LOSS OF HIS IMPORTANT POSITION, PRESUMABLY AS AN HONORIFIC REWARD FOR PAST SERVICES RENDERED.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 920

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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9. THE ELECTIONS TO CANDIDATE STATUS IN THE NEW CENTRAL
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COMMITTEE ALSO SHOW A HIGH RATE OF CADRE RETENTION, ALTHOUGH THE RATE OF REPLACEMENT IS SOMEWHAT HIGHER THAN FOR FULL MEMBERS. THE SIZE OF THE CANDIDATE GROUP WAS REDUCED TO 139--A DECREASE OF 16; THIS REDUCTION REPRESENTS PARTIAL COMPENSATION FOR THE INCREASE OF FULL MEMBERS. SIXTY-EIGHT OF THESE 139 CANDIDATES (49 PERCENT) WERE ELECTED AS CANDIDATES IN 1971, WHEREAS IN 1971, 46 PERCENT OF THE CANDIDATES ELECTED WERE HOLDOVERS FROM 1966. IN TERMS OF 1971 FIGURES, 46 (29.6 PERCENT) WERE PROMOTED TO FULL MEMBERSHIP, 32 (20.6 PERCENT) WERE REMOVED AT THE CONGRESS, AND NINE (5.8 PERCENT) DIED IN OFFICE. IN EFFECT, THEN, RETENTION AND PROMOTION FOR CANDIDATES IS HIGHER AT THE 25TH CONGRESS THAN IT WAS FOR THE 24TH CONGRESS.

10. THIRTY-TWO LIVING CANDIDATE MEMBERS WERE DROPPED AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS. IN ALL BUT THREE CASES, HOWEVER, THESE INVOLVE EITHER CHANGES IN POSITION OR REMOVAL OF SYMBOLIC WORKERS FROM CANDIDATE STATUS. THE THREE MEN REMOVED AT THIS CONGRESS THAT, ACCORDING TO OUR RECORDS, STILL HOLD THEIR OLD JOBS ARE--A. I. KOLDUNOV (COMM. MOSCOW AIR DEFENSE DISTRICT), I. G. SLAZHNEV (FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, KAZAKH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS) AND I.L. FURS (FIRST SECRETARY, DNEPRODZERZHINSK GORKOM). WE KNOW OF NO IMMEDIATE REASON FOR THEIR REMOVAL, THOUGH THE PARTY'S ACTION SUGGESTS THAT THEIR CURRENT POSITION MIGHT BE SHIFTED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IT IS ALSO PERHAPS WORTH NOTING THAT FOUR OF THOSE REMOVED WERE MILITARY OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN CHANGING ASSIGNMENTS (S.M. LOBOV, V.V. OKUNEV, G. I. SALMANOV, AND N.I. SMIRNOV) WHICH DO NOT APPEAR TO BE CLEAR DEMOTIONS. IT SEEMS LOGICAL TO CONCLUDE IN THESE CASES THAT APPOINTMENTS TO CERTAIN KEY MILITARY FIELD COMMANDS BRING WITH THEM CANDIDATE STATUS.

11. THERE ARE 71 NEW CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. OF THESE, 20 (28 PERCENT) WERE PROMOTED FROM CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION (CAC) MEMBERSHIP; AT THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS ONLY 19.3 PERCENT OF THE NEW CANDIDATES CAME FROM THE CAC. THIS DIFFERENCE SUGGESTS, AS DOES MUCH OF THE ABOVE ANALYSIS, THAT THERE IS AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO PROMOTE FROM WITHIN, WITH

INDIVIDUALS MOVING STEP BY STEP UP THE LADDER.

12. CANDIDATE MEMBERS PROVIDE THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS WITH STRONGER REPRESENTATION THAN WAS EVIDENT AMONG NEW FULL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE. THIRTY-ONE OF THE 71 (43.7 PERCENT) ARE
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PARTY APPARATUS EMPLOYEES. THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS IS REPRESENTED BY 23 NEW CANDIDATES (32.4 PERCENT). SEVEN OF THESE WERE IN THE MILITARY, SIX WERE FROM OTHER INSTITUTIONS, AND FOUR ARE NOT IDENTIFIABLE BY US.

13. OF THE 71 NEW CANDIDATE MEMBERS SEVERAL ARE PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTH. A. M. ALEKSANDROV-AGENTOV, AN AIDE TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY, V. V. ZAGLADIN, FIRST DEPUTY HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CC, G. A. ARBATOV, DIRECTOR OF THE USA INSTITUTE, WERE ALL PROMOTED FROM MEMBERSHIP ON THE CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION. IN ADDITION, ALL THREE HAVE BEEN CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH ADVISING BREZHNEV ON FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS. K. I. ZARODOV (EDITOR, "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM" WAS ALSO PROMOTED FROM THE CAC. DESPITE HIS NOW FAMOUS AUDIENCE WITH BREZHNEV IN SEPTEMBER, HE WOULD APPEAR TO BE MORE CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH SUSLOV. FINALLY, IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT N.N. INOZEMTSEV (DIRECTOR OF IMEMO) DID NOT ADVANCE TO FULL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP AND, THUS, IS NOW OF EQUAL STATUS WITH HIS COMPETITOR ARBATOV.

14. IN THE CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION, WE FOUND A PATTERN OF PROMOTION, RETENTION, AND DEMOTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE NOTED ABOVE. THE CAC WAS ENLARGED BY FOUR MEMBERS AT THIS CONGRESS, TO 85. OF THESE, 30 (35.3 PERCENT) WERE RETAINED FROM THOSE ELECTED IN 1971 WHILE 55 (64.7 PERCENT) ARE NEW TO THIS BODY. THIS HOLD-OVER RATE IS SOMEWHAT LOWER THAN THE 39.5 PERCENT RETENTION RATE FOR 1966 CAC MEMBERS IN 1971 AT THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS.

15. NONETHELESS, 1971 CAC MEMBERS DID WELL AT THE 25TH CONGRESS. ALMOST 30 PERCENT OF THEM WERE PROMOTED TO CANDIDATE OR FULL CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATUS (HIGHER THAN THE 25 PERCENT PROMOTION RATE FOR CAC MEMBERS IN 1971), AND ONLY 33 PERCENT OF THEM WERE REPLACED BY THE CONGRESS OR HAD DIED EARLIER WHILE IN OFFICE. THIS TURNOVER FIGURE IS SIMILAR TO THE 31 PERCENT TURNOVER AMONG 1966 CAC MEMBERS IN 1971.

16. SEVERAL OF THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE CAC DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION. A. U. BLATOV (AIDE TO BREZHNEV) AND B. T. BATAMOV (AIDE TO KOSYGIN) WERE BOTH ADDED. ALSO, L. F. IL'ICHEV, NOW DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AND FORMER IDEOLOGICAL SECRETARY UNDER KHRUSHCHEV, HAS EARNED HIS WAY BACK INTO THE ELITE AFTER 11 YEARS IN THE VINEYARDS. FINALLY, THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF WEST GERMANY
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IS PERHAPS INDICATED BY THE ADDITION OF V. M. FALIN, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, TO CAC STATUS. ON THE OTHER HAND, FALIN IS RUMORED TO BE DEPARTING BONN IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND HIS ELEVATION MIGHT THEREFORE REFLECT HIS UPCOMING JOB RATHER THAN HIS PAST SERVICES.

17. IN SUM, THROUGHOUT THIS CONGRESS CONTINUITY HAS APPEARED AS A STRONG UNDERLYING LEITMOTIF. THE LEADERSHIP IS NOW VISIBLY ON RECORD AS SATISFIED NOT ONLY WITH ITS POLICIES, BUT WITH THE PLAYERS IMPLEMENTING THEM AS WELL. CADRE SECURITY AND EXTENDED TENURE IN OFFICE HAVE BEEN THE HALLMARKS OF THE BREZHNEV REGIME. AMONG MAJOR RULING BODIES, PROBABLY ONLY THE VATICAN CURIA OFFERS MORE SECURITY AT UPPER LEVELS. THERE WAS LITTLE NOR NO INDICATION AT THE CONGRESS THAT THE LEADERSHIP ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXISTENCE OF A CADRE CIRCULATION PROBLEM OR THAT EVENTUAL SUCCESSION WAS AN ISSUE. ON THE CONTRARY, THE ELECTION RESULTS WOULD SEEM TO BE ONE MORE INDICATOR THAT PRESENT SUPERANNUATED LEADERSHIP DOES NOT NECESSARILY ACCEPT AS A CERTAINTY--AS MANY WESTERN COMMENTATORS HAVE MAINTAINED--THAT THIS CONGRESS WAS INEVITABLY ITS LAST HURRAH.
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